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FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES

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## What Is War? Conference

**September 14-15**  
**Hesburgh Center for International Studies**  
**Auditorium**

*[Click here to view videos from the conference proceedings.](#)*



How should we define war? This is not just an academic question. The most basic human rights--including the right to life, the right to a trial, the right to own property--all depend on whether a conflict is legally definable as war or not. But at the moment there is no clear legal line dividing the two situations. Governments tend to deny that fighting on their territories is war, arguing instead that it is "criminal activity," and claiming that they have it under control. Following the September 11 attacks, the United States reversed the trend, declaring war where many would see crime. Based on this argument, people have been killed, detained without trial, had their property confiscated, and lost many other rights that are taken for granted in times of peace.

This interdisciplinary conference is an outgrowth of an International Law Association study group charged with addressing the legal challenges raised by the Bush Administration's "global war on terror." The committee's work is expected to have a major impact on the international community's understanding of the rights and duties of states, organizations, and individuals.

Click on the links below for further conference information:

[Conference Proceedings \(video\)](#)  
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This event is free and open to the public.

### **Sponsors:**

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## **What is War?**

### **Videos of Conference Proceedings**

*Click on the links below to watch the videos from the conference proceedings.*

#### **Friday, September 14**

9:15 am

##### **Introduction to the Discussion**

John Mueller, Mary Ellen O'Connell

9:30 am

##### **Discussion with Political Scientists**

Moderator: Robert Johansen

Panelists: Michael Doyle, Richard Herrmann, George Lopez, John Mueller

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_1.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_1.wmv)

11:45 am

##### **Discussion with Military Personnel**

Moderator: Sebastian Rosato

Panelists: Major General William Nash, General Sir Michael Rose

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_2.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_2.wmv)

12:45 pm

##### **Welcome & Remarks by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.**

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_3.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_3.wmv)

2:00 pm

##### **Discussion with War Correspondents**

Moderator: Matthew Storin

Panelists: Pamela Constable, James Gordon Meek, Darrin D. Mortenson, Ernest Torriero

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_4.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_4.wmv)

4:15 pm

##### **Discussion with Ethicists**

Moderator: Gerard F. Powers

Panelists: Thomas Grassey, Todd David Whitmore

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_5.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_5.wmv)

#### **Saturday, September 15**

9:15am

##### **Discussion with Historians**

Moderator: Kelly C. Jordan

Panelists: Jeremy Black, Williamson "Wick" Murray

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_6.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_6.wmv)

11:15 am

## Discussion with Peace Researchers

Moderator: Larissa Fast

Panelists: John Darby, Peter Wallensteen

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_7.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_7.wmv)

1:45 pm

## International Law Association (ILA) Committee Comments

Committee Members: Masahiko Asada, Jutta Brunnée, Judith Gardam, James Thuo Gathii, Christine Gray, Elzbieta Mikos-Skuza, Michael Wood

[http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what\\_is\\_war/session\\_8.wmv](http://streaming.nd.edu/kroc/what_is_war/session_8.wmv)

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Page last updated September 28, 2007

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## What is War? Tentative Agenda

*All events will take place at the Hesburgh Center for International Studies,  
University of Notre Dame*

### **Friday, September 14**

8:30 – 9:15 a.m.

#### **Registration & Continental Breakfast**

9:15 – 9:30 a.m.

#### **Introduction to the Discussion**

John Mueller, Mary Ellen O'Connell

9:30 – 11:30 a.m.

#### **Discussion with Political Scientists**

Moderator: Robert Johansen

Panelists: Michael Doyle, Richard Herrmann, George Lopez, John Mueller

11:45 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.

#### **Discussion with Military Personnel**

Moderator: Sebastian Rosato

Panelists: Major General William Nash, General Sir Michael Rose

12:45 - 1 p.m.

#### **Welcome by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.**

1 – 2 p.m.

#### **Lunch Break**

2 – 4 p.m.

#### **Discussion with War Correspondents**

Moderator: Matthew Storin

Panelists: Pamela Constable, James Gordon Meek, Darrin D. Mortenson,  
Ernest Torriero

4:15 – 5:15 p.m.

#### **Discussion with Ethicists**

Moderator: Gerard F. Powers

Panelists: Thomas Grassey, Todd David Whitmore

### **Saturday, September 15**

8:30 – 9:15 a.m.

#### **Continental Breakfast**

9:15 – 11 a.m.

#### **Discussion with Historians**

Moderator: Kelly C. Jordan

Panelists: Jeremy Black, Williamson "Wick" Murray

11:15 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.

**Discussion with Peace Researchers**

Moderator: Larissa Fast

Panelists: John Darby, Peter Wallensteen

12:30 – 1:45 p.m.

**Lunch Break**

1:45 - 3:15 p.m.

**ILA Committee Comments**

Committee Members: Masahiko Asada, Jutta Brunnée, Judith Gardam, James Thuo Gathii, Christine Gray, Elzbieta Mikos-Skuza , Michael Wood

3:15 p.m.

**Conference Closing**

John Mueller, Mary Ellen O'Connell

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Page last updated September 5, 2007

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## What is War? Speaker Biographies

**Masahiko Asada** is Professor of International Law at the Graduate School of Law, Kyoto University. He is a member of the International Relations Committee of Japan's Atomic Energy Commission, the Subcommittee on Security and Trade Control of the Industrial Structure Advisory Council in the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* (Oxford) and the *Japanese Annual of International Law*. A former Senior Associate at St. Antony's College, Oxford, he has served as legal adviser to several Japanese delegations to arms control conferences and meetings. Professor Asada is the author of numerous articles in the *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, the *Kyoto Journal of Law and Politics*, and other publications.

**Jeremy Black** is Professor of History at the University of Exeter. After graduating from Cambridge, he did postgraduate work at Oxford and then taught at Durham before moving to Exeter in 1996. He has lectured extensively all over the world and has held visiting chairs at West Point, Texas Christian University, and Stillman College. A past council member of the Royal Historical Society, he is a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce and a Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. His books include *War and World 1450-2000* (Yale), *The British Seaborne Empire* (Yale), *Maps and History* (Yale), *George III* (Yale), and *European Warfare in a Global Context, 1660-1815* (Routledge).

**Jutta Brunnée** is Professor of Law and Metcalf Chair in Environmental Law at the University of Toronto. Previously, she served on the faculties of law at McGill University and the University of British Columbia. She is co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of International Environmental Law* (Oxford) and author of *Acid Rain and Ozone Layer Depletion: International Law and Regulation*, as well as numerous articles. She is a member of the ILA's Committee on the Use of Force and of the World Conservation Union's Environmental Law Commission and was a member of the U.N. Environment Programme's International Expert Group for the Montevideo Programme (III). She holds an LL.M. from Dalhousie University, Canada, and a Doctorate in Law from Johannes Gutenberg University, Germany.

**Pamela Constable** is a staff writer at the *Washington Post*, where she has reported extensively from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. Prior to joining the *Post*, Constable spent 12 years at the *Boston Globe*, reporting from around the world. She is the author of "Fragments of Grace: My Search for Meaning in the Strife of South Asia," published by Potomac Books in the U.S., Harper/Collins in India, and Vanguard Books in Pakistan, and co-author of "A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet," published by W.W. Norton. She has written for *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Smithsonian*, *Current History*, and the *Journal of Democracy*. She is a recipient of the Maria Moors Cabot Prize for coverage of Latin America and an Alicia Patterson Fellowship to study military rule in Chile. A graduate of Brown University, she has been the Writer in Residence and an adjunct professor at the Pew International Journalism Program at Johns Hopkins University, a fellow of the American University's Writer as Witness Program, and a visiting journalism fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

**John Darby** is Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He was founding director of INCORE, a joint program of the Tokyo-based United Nations University and the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland. He has held visiting positions at Harvard and Duke Universities and has been a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation in Bellagio, the Woodrow Wilson Center in



Washington, the United States Institute of Peace, and the Fulbright New Century Scholars' Program. He has written or edited fourteen books and more than 100 other academic publications, including *The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes* (USIP); *Contemporary Peacemaking* (Palgrave Macmillan); *Violence and Reconstruction* (Notre Dame Press); and *Peacebuilding after Peace Accords* (Notre Dame Press).

**Michael W. Doyle** is the Harold Brown Professor of International Affairs, Law and Political Science at Columbia University. In 2006-2007 he was the Georges Lurcy Visiting Professor of Law at Yale Law School. His current research focuses on preventive self-defense. His publications include *Ways of War and Peace* (W.W. Norton), *Empires* (Cornell University Press), *Making War and Building Peace* (Princeton Press), and a study of U.N. peacekeeping written with Nicholas Sambanis. He served as Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser to former U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, where his responsibilities included strategic planning, outreach to the international corporate sector (the "Global Compact"), and relations with Washington. He has recently been named the U.N. Secretary-General's representative on the Advisory Board of the U.N. Democracy Fund.

**Larissa A. Fast** is Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. In her research and teaching, she focuses on peacebuilding, conflict transformation, humanitarian security, humanitarian politics, and development and conflict. Having earned her M.A. at Notre Dame and her Ph.D. at George Mason University, she has worked for several international development NGOs in the United States and in Africa as a project manager, consultant, and conflict analyst. In addition, she has trained individuals and organizations in conflict analysis and resolution. Her publications have appeared in *Disasters*, *Peace and Change*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, *Negotiation Journal*, and *International Negotiation*. She also served as co-editor of a textbook on conflict resolution (Continuum Publishers, 2nd ed., forthcoming 2007).

**Judith Gail Gardam** teaches Public International Law at the University of Adelaide Law School in South Australia. Her areas of expertise include International Humanitarian Law and the law regulating the use of force in international law. Her latest monographs are *Proportionality, Necessity and Force in International Law* (Cambridge) and *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law* (Kluwer). Her recent work focuses on the challenges posed to the application of proportionality in response to the forceful activities of terrorists, and she has written on this issue in the *Nordic Journal of International Law* and in *Essays in Honour of Professor Igor Blischenko* (forthcoming). Professor Gardam is an expert on the law regulating the treatment of women in times of armed conflict and is the author of *International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law Applicable to Women and Girls in Times of Armed Conflict*, a study commissioned by the U.N. Secretary-General.

**James Thuo Gathii** is the Governor George E. Pataki Chair of International Commercial Law at Albany Law School. His expertise is in public international law, international economic law, international intellectual property and trade law, and issues of good governance and legal reform as they relate to the developing world and sub-Saharan Africa in particular. He previously taught at Rutgers Business School and was a Crowe and Dunlevy Visiting International Law Professor at the University of Oklahoma's College of Law. Professor Gathii has published more than 40 articles and book chapters, and he is ranked among the top 300 law authors by the Social Science Research Network. He has presented his research at the law schools of Harvard, Cornell, University of California-Davis, and the University of North Carolina, as well as around the world. His current research focuses on the social and public policy issues related to developing country participation in the Doha Round of negotiations, with a particular focus on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

**Thomas B. Grassey** is the James B. Stockdale Professor of Leadership and Ethics at the U.S. Naval War College. He teaches professional ethics, decision theory, intelligence and U.S. military operations and strategic leadership. A 1967 NROTC graduate of Villanova University, he served two years aboard the destroyer USS *MASSEY* (DD 778) and then was officer-in-charge of the Naval Weapons Orientation Group, Camp Pendleton Marine Corps Base, providing weapons training for Navy and Coast Guard personnel assigned to duty in Vietnam. Professor Grassey earned his M.A. and Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Chicago. In 1987 he was appointed academic director of the intelligence studies program at the Naval Postgraduate School. He has served as editor of the *Naval War College Review* and director of the Naval War College Press, and has held National Endowment for the Humanities

faculty fellowships in law, history, and humanities, and a Carnegie Council fellowship in ethics. He retired from the U.S. Naval Reserve intelligence program as a captain.

**Christine D. Gray** is Professor of International Law at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of St John's College. She was a Research Fellow at Selwyn College, Cambridge, from 1978-1980, a Fellow of St Hilda's College, Oxford, and a Lecturer at the University of Oxford from 1980-1996. She has been a visiting fellow in the Max Planck Institute in Heidelberg, as well as visiting professor at Duke and other U.S. universities. She is a member of the editorial board of several journals, including the *British Yearbook of International Law*, the *European Journal of International Law* and the *Cambridge Law Journal*. Her main publications are *Judicial Remedies in International Law* (Oxford University Press) and *International Law and the Use of Force* (Oxford University Press, three editions).

**Richard K. Herrmann** is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University. He has written widely on international security, American foreign policy, and politics in the Middle East. His research has appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *World Politics*, and the *Journal of Politics*. His most recent piece is entitled "From Prediction to Learning: Opening Expert's Minds to Unfolding History," *International Security* (Spring 2007). From 1991-1996, Professor Herrmann served as coeditor of *International Studies Quarterly*, the flagship journal of the International Studies Association. Previous to that, he served on Secretary of State James Baker's Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State.

**Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.**, is President Emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, which he led for 35 years. He is widely considered one of the most influential figures in higher education in the 20th century. The recipient of the Congressional Gold Medal and the Medal of Freedom, he has held 16 U.S. presidential appointments and been a leading force in major social issues ranging from civil rights to peaceful uses of atomic energy to Third World development and immigration reform. Fr. Hesburgh was educated at Notre Dame and the Gregorian University in Rome and was ordained a priest of the Congregation of Holy Cross in 1943. Following his ordination, he continued his study of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America, receiving his doctorate in 1945. He joined the Notre Dame faculty that year and served as chaplain to World War II veterans on campus in addition to teaching in the Religion Department. Fr. Hesburgh stepped down as head of Notre Dame in 1987, ending the longest tenure among active presidents of American institutions of higher learning. His major retirement role has been developing several Notre Dame institutes and centers that he was instrumental in founding, principally the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, and the Center for Civil and Human Rights.

**Robert C. Johansen** is a Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. He is author of *The National Interest and the Human Interest: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton University Press) and co-editor of *The Constitutional Foundations of World Peace* (SUNY Press). He has published in scholarly journals such as *World Politics*, *Global Governance*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *Human Rights Quarterly*, as well as shorter pieces in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Christian Century* and *Sojourner's*. Formerly president of the World Policy Institute in New York, he also has held visiting appointments at Princeton and Harvard. His current research focuses on the United Nations and international efforts to enforce international laws prohibiting war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and crimes against the peace. He is known for his work on international norms and institutions in world order design and global governance.

**Kelly C. Jordan** is an Assistant Dean in the College of Arts and Letters' Office of Undergraduate Studies at the University of Notre Dame and an Assistant Professor of History. He recently retired from active military service after more than 21 years as an Army officer. At Notre Dame, he served as Professor of Military Science and as the Battalion Commander for Notre Dame's U.S. Army ROTC "Fightin' Irish" Battalion for four years. Previously he served as an instructor at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in the Combined Arms and Services Staff School. His military career included assignments in the Republic of Korea, teaching military history at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and various assignments in U.S. Army infantry units, including Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.



**George A. Lopez** is the Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, Professor of Peace Studies at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Working with David Cortright since 1992, he has written more than twenty articles and book chapters, as well as five books on economic sanctions, including *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s* (Lynne Rienner Publishers), with special reference to U.N. sanctions on Iraq. Lopez and Cortright's research detailing the unlikely presence of WMDs in Iraq was featured before the war in "Disarming Iraq," *Arms Control Today* (Sept. 2002), and further articulated after the war began in "Containing Iraq: the Sanctions Worked," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August, 2004). Their most recent volume, *Uniting Against Terror* was just published by MIT Press. Professor Lopez has served as a senior research associate at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.

**James Gordon Meek** is an investigative reporter who covers national news, politics and terrorism for the *New York Daily News*. He reported on the 9/11 attacks from the Pentagon and has traveled to Afghanistan and embedded with U.S. special operations forces. He covered the trials of Zacarias Moussaoui and Lewis "Scooter" Libby. He has broken countless stories, including the 2006 plan by Lebanese militants linked to Al Qaeda in Iraq to blow up tunnels in New York City and flood lower Manhattan, and has authored a series of stories about abuses of inmates in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Previously, Meek worked for UPI, APBnews.com, and the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*. He contributed reporting to CNN terrorism analyst Peter Bergen's book, *The Osama Bin Laden I Know* and was the first cyberjournalist accredited by Congress and the White House.

**Elzbieta Mikos-Skuza** is a Lecturer in Public International Law at the University of Warsaw. She graduated from the Faculty of Law, University of Warsaw (Poland), earned degrees from two post-graduate programs in international law, development, and social justice at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, and a Ph.D. in law from the University of Warsaw. An expert in international law and international humanitarian law, Professor Mikos-Skuza has authored numerous books and articles and, since 1981, she has volunteered with the Polish Red Cross. She serves as an expert to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is a vice-president of the PRC, member of its national board, and president of its Commission for International Humanitarian Law. She is also a member of the San Remo International Institute of Humanitarian Law and of the ILA Committee on the Use of Force. In 2001 she was elected a member of the International Humanitarian Fact-Finding Commission, and has served as its vice-president since 2002.

**Darrin D. Mortenson** is a Visiting Scholar in Journalism at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University. He covered the first three years of the war in Iraq for the *North County Times* at Camp Pendleton, California. He was embedded with U.S. Marines during the initial invasion of Iraq in 2003 and during the siege of Fallujah in early 2004, and covered the first general elections from Kufa, Karbala, and Najaf, sending more than 150 dispatches and contributing reports to *Time*, *Nightline*, and *ABC World News Tonight*. As the Mershon Center's first-ever journalist-in-residence, he completed a manuscript on the U.S. Marines during the invasion of Iraq and most of a manuscript on the Marines' experience in Fallujah. He is co-author of *A Thousand Miles to Baghdad* (Penton Overseas), a book of images and impressions from the invasion of Iraq.

**John Mueller** holds the Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and is Professor of Political Science at The Ohio State University, where he teaches international relations. He is the author of *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press), as well as *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Wiley), *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (Basic Books), *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War* (University of Chicago Press), *Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics* (HarperCollins), *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery* (Princeton), and *The Remnants of War* (Cornell), which was awarded the Lepgold Prize for the best book on international relations in 2004. Professor Mueller has been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, the Cato Institute, the Hoover Institution, and the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo.

**Williamson "Wick" Murray** is Senior Fellow at the Institute of Defense Analyses and Distinguished Visiting Professor at the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduating from Yale, he served five years as an officer in the U.S. Air Force, including a tour in Southeast Asia with the

314th Tactical Airlift Wing (C-130s). He then returned to Yale to earn his Ph.D. and taught for two years before moving to the Ohio State University. He received the Alumni Distinguished Teaching Award in 1987 and, in 1995, retired as Professor Emeritus of History. He has also taught at the Air War College, the U.S. Military Academy, and the Naval War College, where he was Secretary of the Navy Fellow. He served as the Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics, the Matthew C. Horner Professor of Military Theory at the Marine Corps University, the Charles Lindbergh Chair at the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum, and the Harold K. Johnson Professor of Military History at the Army War College. Murray has written and edited numerous books on history and the military, and his articles have appeared in *The National Interest*, *Strategic Review*, *Orbis*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, and other publications.

**Major General William L. Nash** has been an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations since 2001, and serves as the Director of its Military Fellows Program. He is also a lecturer at Georgetown University, a visiting lecturer at Princeton, and a military consultant to ABC News. Previously, he served as Director of the Center for Preventive Action and the John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention, where he led efforts to work with governments, international and non-governmental organizations, and the business community to anticipate international crises and recommend preventive action. Major General Nash served in Vietnam and in Operation Desert Storm; from 1995-1997, he commanded the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division. In 1995 he led American troops in Bosnia as the Commander of Task Force Eagle, a multinational division of 25,000 soldiers from 12 nations charged with enforcing the military provisions of the Dayton Peace Accords. In 2000 he led a joint civilian-military peacekeeping operation and, at the request of the U.S. government, became the Regional Administrator for the U.N. in northern Kosovo. He was the Director of Civil-Military Programs at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. After retiring from the Army in 1998, he was a Fellow and Visiting Lecturer at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

**Mary Ellen O'Connell** is the Robert and Marion Short Professor of Law at the Notre Dame Law School and a fellow of the Kroc Institute for Peace Studies. Previously, she was the William B. Saxbe Designated Professor of Law at the Moritz College of Law and a senior fellow of the Merhson Center for the Study of International Security at The Ohio State University. She was a professional military educator for the Department of Defense at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. She has also taught at the Indiana University School of Law, the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Bologna, Italy, the University of Texas School of Law, and the University of Cincinnati College of Law. She chairs the International Law Association's Study Committee on the Use of Force. She is the author of *International Law and the Use of Force* (Foundation Press) and *International Dispute Resolution* (Carolina Academic Press), and the editor of three other books. She has written numerous articles and book chapters on international law and the use of force and international dispute resolution. She is a member of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law, San Remo, the Germany Society of International Law, and other professional organizations devoted to international law. She has degrees from Northwestern, LSE, Cambridge and Columbia.

**Gerard F. Powers** is Director of Policy Studies for the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame and Chairman of the Steering Committee and Coordinator of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network. He earned a J.D. and an M.A. in theology from Notre Dame and a B.A. from Princeton. He previously served as director of the Office of International Justice and Peace of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and was its foreign policy advisor specializing in European affairs, religious liberty and the ethics of the use of force. He has been an adjunct faculty member at the National Law Center of George Washington University and the Oblate School of Theology. Professor Powers' recent articles have examined the ethics of the use of force in Iraq, nuclear weapons, humanitarian intervention, and economic sanctions. He has also written on religion and U.S. foreign policy, the right to self-determination, and the role of religion in the conflicts in Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is co-editor of *Peacemaking: Moral and Policy Challenges for a New World* (Georgetown University Press).

**Sebastian Rosato** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, specializing in international relations theory, international security, and qualitative

methods. He earned his B.A. at Cambridge University, his M.Phil. at Oxford University, and his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. He is the author of "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory" in the *American Political Science Review*. His current book project explores the causes and consequences of military and economic integration with a particular focus on the European Union. He has been a Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University.

**General Sir Michael Rose** was educated at Cheltenham College, the Sorbonne, and St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. He is an honorary fellow of his College and a Senior Associate Research Fellow at King's College, London (International Policy Institute). He joined the Reserve in 1957 and was commissioned as a Regular Officer into the Coldstream Guards in 1964. Following attendance at the Staff College in 1973, his appointments took him to the Middle and Far East as well as the Falkland Islands. He attended the Royal College of Defence Studies in 1986 and became Commandant of the Staff College in 1991. He was Commander of the UK Field Army and Inspector General Territorial Army from 1993 to 1994, when he took command of the U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In January 1995, he was appointed to the Army Board as Adjutant General. Sir Michael retired from the Army in 1997 as 28th Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and has since written and lectured extensively on peacekeeping and leadership around the world. He is the author of *Fighting for Peace* (Time Warner), about his experiences in Bosnia, and is currently writing a book on George Washington. His most recent book, about the U.S. War for Independence, is expected in 2008.

**Matthew V. Storin** is Adjunct Professor in American Studies and the John W. Gallivan Program in Journalism, Ethics and Democracy at the University of Notre Dame. Previously, he served as Associate Vice President for News and Information at the University of Notre Dame (2002-2005); editor of the *Boston Globe* (1993-2001), executive editor of the *Daily News* of New York (1989-1992), editor of *Maine Times* (1988-89), and senior vice president and editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times* (1986-87). His areas of research include media ethics, politics, and media.

**Ernest (E.A.) Torriero** is a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* with extensive experience in national and foreign affairs and reporting from conflict zones. He reported from Afghanistan after the U.S. intervention in 2001, was assigned to Iraq in 2002, and worked in Baghdad under the Saddam Hussein regime. He also covered the Middle East, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Hezbollah operations in southern Lebanon. Before joining the Tribune, Torriero worked at the *South Florida Sun Sentinel* as the newspaper's sole national/foreign correspondent, covering stories such as the U.S. intervention in Haiti in 1994 and the drug wars in Colombia. He also has been a reporter for the *Miami Herald*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *San Jose Mercury News*. Torriero has a bachelor's degree in economics from Notre Dame and a master's degree in journalism from Northwestern University.

**Peter Wallensteen** is the Richard G. Starmann Research Professor of Peace Studies at Notre Dame's Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and the Dag Hammarskjöld Professor in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Sweden's Uppsala University, where he directs the Uppsala Conflict Data Program and the Special Program on the Implementation of Targeted Sanctions. Professor Wallensteen is the author of *Understanding Conflict Resolution: Peace, War, and the Global System* (Sage Publications). His interest in targeted sanctions resulted in an edited volume, *International Sanctions: Between Wars and Words* (Routledge), in 2005. He was also involved with *Making Targeted Sanctions Effective*, the outcome of a large international process for improving sanctions and presented to the U.N. Security Council in February 2003. He published an edited volume on Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Alva Myrdal, *Alva Myrdal in International Affairs* (Uppsala Publishing).

**Todd David Whitmore** is Associate Professor of Social Ethics in the Department of Theology at the University of Notre Dame. He is also the Director of the Program in Catholic Social Tradition and a fellow of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. After receiving his B.A. at Wabash college, he earned his M.Div. at Harvard Divinity School and his Ph.D. at the Divinity School at the University of Chicago. His current work takes him to northern Uganda and Southern Sudan, where he is researching the impact of the 21-year conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army and the government of Uganda.

**Sir Michael Wood**, KCMG, is a Senior Fellow of the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, University of Cambridge, and a barrister at 20 Essex Street. He was Legal Adviser to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and was a member of the UK delegation to many international conferences, including the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia, the "Two-plus-Four" negotiations on German Unification, the Cambodia Peace Conference, and the Dayton and Rambouillet Conferences on the former Yugoslavia. His postings included the British Embassy in Bonn and the UK Mission to the U.N. in New York, dealing chiefly with Security Council matters. He was Agent for the UK for several years before the European Commission and Court of Human Rights, an Agent in the *Lockerbie* and *Legality of Use of Force* cases before the International Court of Justice, as well as in the *MOX Plant* proceedings before the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

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Page last updated September 5, 2007  
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## Soldiers, scholars, lawyers to seek meaning of war

Date: August 24, 2007

Soldiers, social scientists, war correspondents, just war theorists, military historians, international lawyers and decorated generals – including two former commanders in Bosnia – will meet Sept. 13 to 15 (Thursday to Saturday) at the University of Notre Dame for a conference titled “What Is War?”



A clear answer is critical to human rights around the world, according to Mary Ellen O'Connell, Robert and Marion Short Professor of Law at Notre Dame and a fellow in the University's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.

“The most basic human rights – the right to life, the right to trial, the right to own property – all depend on whether a conflict is legally definable as war or not,” she said. “Yet at the moment there is no immutable dividing line between the two situations.”

Governments tend to deny that fighting on their territory is armed conflict, O'Connell said, instead calling it “criminal activity” and claiming that they have it under control.

“Yet if the conflict on your territory is not war, then according to international law you have to use law enforcement methods rather than respond with bombs or violence,” she said.

In a reversal of this trend, the U.S. government after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks began calling “war” what many would see as crime, O'Connell said.

“During war, the law changes fundamentally,” she said. “Under the argument that the U.S. is conducting a ‘global war on terror,’ people have been killed, imprisoned without trial, had their property confiscated and lost many other rights that could never have been violated in times of peace.”

Among the speakers will be two former commanders in Bosnia, retired British Army Gen. Sir Michael Rose and retired U.S. Army Gen. William Nash, as well as experts from around the world who examine war from legal, historic, political, academic and journalistic perspectives. Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh,

C.S.C., president emeritus of Notre Dame, also will offer remarks.

An agenda and list of speakers and biographies are available at <http://kroc.nd.edu/events/>

The second day of the conference will coincide with the release of Gen. David Petraeus' report on progress since the U.S. military "surge" in Iraq.

The conference, which is free and open to the public, is sponsored by the Mershon Center for Security Studies at Ohio State University, Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and Notre Dame Law School.

The conference is an outgrowth of a study group formed by the International Law Association, a worldwide organization of international lawyers and law scholars. Under O'Connell's chairmanship, the study group is charged with addressing the legal challenges raised by the Bush administration's "global war on terror." The committee's work is expected to have a major impact on the international community's understanding of the rights and duties of states, organizations and individuals.

For more information: <http://kroc.nd.edu/events/>

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Note to media: To arrange interviews with participants, contact Joan Fallon, 574-631-8819, [jfallon2@nd.edu](mailto:jfallon2@nd.edu).

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